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Fellowship

ANTONIO LOUREIRO *Good-Will Man*

30¢

United Labor and the Divided Races

by Sid Lens

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COVER: Antonio Loureiro, outgoing executive secretary of the Latin-American Fellowship of Reconciliation. After eleven years of FOR service, he has resigned to become secretary of Good-Will Industries in Montevideo, Uruguay.

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JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR. Secretary
A. J. MUSTE Secretary-Emeritus
GLENN E. SMILEY Field Secretary

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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P.A.

There have been times when pacifists appeared to be talking almost exclusively into empty barrels, but those times have passed, for the present at least. The suspicion grows that some pacifist, undoctrinaire in nature, has got hold of the microphone on some mighty public address system. The antiwar material piles up so fast these days that we should have a daily periodical merely to record it (see *News*, p. 26).

It *is* antiwar material, too. Have no doubt of that. Pacifists who question putting effort into opposing H-bomb tests, because such opposition falls short of the full pacifist position, forget what the educational process is. With the tests stopped—and it seems evident that they will be stopped before long, by the sheer weight of public protest—public attention must inevitably turn to the bombs themselves, and the occasion of their possible use. If simply testing bombs imposes frightful dangers on the human race, what would their use in war do?

One gets the feeling sometimes that Someone has got tired of our evasions and rationalizations, and started firing the choices to us in their stark, ultimate forms. We live in the generation when the demonic dimensions of war have become fully revealed, when the final choice must be made. No one knows what may be the capabilities of the human race confronted with that kind of situation.

Flattery

The Pentagon has paid us the sincerest form of flattery again by publishing a leaflet for potential draftees with the same title as the FOR leaflet for the same group: "It's Your Choice." Must admit the similarity stops there. The Pentagon job, neatly done in three colors, offers five choices (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard) or two (be drafted or volunteer), depending on how you read it. The FOR leaflet, in a modest two colors, offers only two choices: You can be drafted for *war,* or you can volunteer for *peace.*

It still looks that way, too.

Choices

These may be "old hat" by the time this is published, but for the record, here are some of the aspects of the choice as they have been revealed recently:

¶ Four leading geneticists, one a Nobel Prizewinner, have told a Congressional committee that: (a) there is no such thing as a "safe dose" of radiation, and (b) if atomic testing continues at the present rate there are likely to be in future generations 80,000 cases of "gross genetic abnormalities," 300,000 childhood deaths and stillbirths, and 700,000 embryonic deaths, plus a larger but unknown number of minor defects. These numbers represent, as Dr. James F. Crow acknowledged, "a very small fraction of the total human death, disease and misery," but, he added, "in my opinion, even one unnecessary individual tragedy is too many."

¶ A new booklet published by the Defense Department at just about the time government spokesmen were declaiming about the new "clean" bombs, observed that radiological warfare (the use of radioactive fallout as a weapon) has become "an automatic extension of the offensive use of nuclear weapons of high yield."

¶ Another new booklet, published by the Civil Defense Administration, has revealed that a system of priorities has been established for medical aid to be given after an atomic attack. Based on CD's assumption that after such an attack two-thirds of the nation's population would be killed or injured, the remaining physicians and nurses are instructed to treat first those who need

it least, and to leave the most seriously injured until last." The news service story reporting this calls it a rule "characteristic of barbaric societies and the extremities of fiction."

There was a time when governments were assumed to have been instituted among men to secure to the individual citizens the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and when men were honored who belittled their own hurts so that aid might go more quickly to those who needed it more. The meaning of war and the preparations for war now is unmistakably the sacrifice of all human rights to the survival of the state.

Graduated

A British group under the leadership of an Admiral Buzzard has come up with another ingenious scheme for coping with the uncopable. Its proposal is for international agreement on a kind of "graduated" warfare, in which each nation pledges itself to refrain from the use of major nuclear weapons unless the enemy uses them first.

Thus the war would be fought with "conventional" weapons of the non-nuclear variety, moving on, as the conflict grew in intensity, to atomic artillery and small nuclear bombs, but abjuring the big bombs and guided missiles—unless, of course, the "enemy" used them first.

So again men try to describe war as a kind of game, with a referee to blow his whistle whenever he detects a foul. But war is not a game, as everybody but the generals and admirals has long since realized. For those who wage it, it becomes a life-and-death struggle for survival. In such circumstances, it is fatuous to suppose that the side on the verge of defeat would leave its most powerful weapons untouched for the sake of prewar agreements.

CD—Episode 97

Getting ready for the day the H-bombs drop, Jefferson County, Texas, staged a civil defense rehearsal recently that was described in the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Jack Brooks of that up-and-coming state. Maybe it dispels the notion that civil defense drills are not realistic, because the 45 Texans who played "casualities"

even had mercurochrome smeared on them to simulate blood. How much more realistic can you get?

One casualty, presumably in more desperate need of succor than the other 44, was even evacuated by helicopter from the hospital to the Jefferson County Airport, a distance, in the words of the *Beaumont Journal*, of "almost ten miles," or nearly the radius of total destruction of a 20-megaton bomb.

Relief

We are always impressed by the recurring concern on the part of various legislators for the plight of the unfortunate taxpayer. Being human, we also usually have a tendency to look with approval on proposals for tax reductions, especially when most of the taxes go for war.

We are indebted to the National Association of Manufacturers for news of one of the more recent ventures in this field, by Congressman A. N. Sadlak of Massachusetts. Mr. Sadlak, we are advised by the NAM, is having bouquets tossed at him by taxpayers of all groups, since his bill for "relief" requires that "rates must be reduced all along the line."

Just for the exercise, we thought we'd figure what "all along the line" means to Mr. Sadlak and the NAM. Here's how it would work out under H.R. 6452:

For the family with taxable income of—	*it would reduce taxes from—*	*—to—*	*or a saving of—*
$ 1,000	$ 20	$ 15	$ 5
4,000	840	620	220
10,000	2,640	1,700	940
100,000	67,320	28,880	38,440
1,000,000	884,820	403,880	480,940

All along the line, all right!

UNITED LABOR AND THE DIVIDED RACES

BY SID LENS

A Negro union organizer from Chicago recently visited his relatives in Greenville, Mississippi. Seated in a ramshackle restaurant the conversation turned naturally to the AFL-CIO merger and the prospects of unionizing the South. His brother-in-law, a sawmill worker, said he belongs to the union but he gets only a dollar an hour and he doesn't feel that the union is doing anything for him. White men in the same job are getting more.

Another brother-in-law was in an unorganized plant but he had little faith either the government or the unions could do him any good. "When they passed that 75c-an-hour minimum law years ago," he said, "it took us nine months before we got it. Everybody was afraid to say something about it. Finally a government man came here and the boss gave us the raise to 75c. But we never got back pay." The dollar-an-hour minimum, he was sure, wouldn't be helping him for at least another year.

A third relative, a "half-hand" on a farm, said there was no use organizing the factory workers. "You ought to start with us on the farm. We need it most." A "half-hand" is a sharecropper who pays for his seed and supplies but shares his product with the landlord, half and half. Last year this particular half-hand made 18 bales of cotton, a rather good crop, but when he settled for the year he still owed seven dollars to the landlord's store.

Everyone conceded that it would

take a heroic effort to get the union ball rolling. One man described what happened to two organizers who distributed a leaflet at his plant. The company officials called the workers together and mobilized them to drive the organizers out—physically. Even the Negroes, all of whom favored unionism, participated in this bit of railroading along with the rest. They didn't have the courage to tell the white employer "No."

"Well," said the Northern unionist, "we'll get around that. The labor movement is united now. We're going to have a big group of organizers and we'll be well protected when we come down here."

"Maybe," piped up one of his favorite cousins. "Maybe you'll have a bunch of men to protect you. But don't you be coming down here with the first bunch. The fourth bunch, okay, but not the first."

As if to punctuate this point, some time later another woman relative came into the restaurant shaking like a leaf. She had just seen two policemen pull a Negro out of his car and beat him mercilessly in front of his two kids. He was not charged with any crime or arrested, just beaten. When the policemen finished their "work" they left him to be taken to a hospital. Such incidents, she told her Northern cousin, were now almost daily occurrences.

Here, in capsule, are posed the major facets of the race problem with which the merged federation of labor, AFL-CIO, will have to cope. Incorporating the unorganized Negro into the trade union movement involves a whole complex of social problems stretching far beyond the confines of "simple unionism." Each is so indissolubly connected with the other that there can hardly be a separation of activities. Tied in with unionism for the Negro are such matters as civil rights, agricultural backwardness, and civil liberties.

Status is the Goal

What is involved is not mere unionization, but completion of the grand dream of the American Revolution. Negro workers become unionists as the first step towards a goal of equality, not just as a means of increasing the paycheck. Wherever they are permitted, Negroes are proportionately more active in the unions than whites. The union gives them status and identity, so badly lacking in their normal lives. On Chicago's South Side there is a department store staffed 90 percent by Negroes. A few years ago they had a choice of either joining a machine-controlled union headed by another Negro, or a democratic organization headed by a white man. They chose the latter because there they could become stewards and officers of the local, with an important voice both in the store and in the union, whereas with the Negro-led union they could enjoy no such role. They didn't want an elusive racial solidarity; they chose instead racial recognition.

Of the 37 million workers who are potential union recruits—double the number now organized—a disproportionate share are Negroes. In the railroad industry, about 20 percent of the unorganized in the North and 40 percent in the South are Negroes. This is a far larger percentage than the 10 percent Negro segment of the population. The same to a lesser or greater degree can be said of other industries.

Negroes tend to be the marginal employees, the group brought into low-wage industries and areas that have remained outside the union sphere. Negroes progressively are moving out of Southern agriculture to Southern or Northern industry. Non-agricultural employment in the South increased by almost 19 percent from 1947 to 1954, whereas for the United States outside the South the rate was only 9.2 percent. The subsistence Negro field hand or sharecropper, pressed by the decline of agriculture, is moving into the industrial labor market. The race issue thus is a towering obstacle on the path to unionizing the tens of millions still outside the ranks.

The Negro himself is not hard to enroll. Down South in particular all you have to do is ask him and he is willing to join. There is no equivocation or temporizing. The problem, however, is to make the *white* worker accept the Negro into the fold, and make the Negro feel he is being accepted on a basis of equality. Community of interests is not hard to establish. Statistics show that while the white worker earns about twice as much as the Negro in the South, this division of the races puts the white worker himself far behind his white brethren in the North. The last federal census for Atlanta, Memphis and New Orleans showed white workers earning an average of 1,866 a year, as against only $862 for Negroes. This was a gap of more than 100 percent as against only a 33 percent gap in other areas. But the Southern white was earning some $400 a year less than his fellow whites in the North, and only $185 more than Negro workers in the North Central states. Racial prejudice thus not only doomed the Negro to low living standards but cut deeply into the white paycheck as well. The fiction spread by white-supremacy advocates that white employees gain as a result of separation of the races is easily disproved.

The problem now is to overcome the emotional facets of jimcrow. In this sphere, unfortunately, many unionists are either too timid, or, worse, they suffer partially or totally from the same jimcrow psychosis that blots American democracy as a whole.

The fact that a union leader pays lip service to racial equality does not fool the average Negro. He has been kidded too often to be taken in by sweet talk. Somehow or other the true feelings of some members of labor's brass filter through. Though some of these speak publicly of equality, in private and in their heart-of-hearts they have no such feelings. That includes not only some ex-AFL officials, but at least one top ex-CIO leader whose private expressions are shocking. Organizers frequently find that Negroes who have been in unions before are much harder to sign up than those who have never had union experience. On investigation it invariably turns out that they were in outfits where they had no voice. This includes, incidentally, certain unions which have Negro leaders. The

skin color of the leader is not important for the rank-and-file black worker; what matters is that the organization as such is machine-dominated and does not offer him an opportunity to express himself and be recognized. Though there is steady improvement, there are still innumerable instances where Negroes even in the North are segregated in separate locals. Usually the limitation is made on a geographical basis—for instance, restaurant workers in the Negro area may have a separate charter from those in white sections—and ordinarily there are a few whites included in the union as well. But these are in reality jimcrow affairs and Negroes resent them, even when headed by members of their own race.

Not all unions, of course, engage in this type of practice; the majority probably are genuine in their opposition to jimcrow. Unions like the Auto Workers, the Packinghouse Workers, and sections of the Teamsters like the St. Louis Council, have a record in race relations that is encouraging. The United Auto Workers has innumerable Negro officials and conducts vigorous education in the classroom as well as in practice on this subject. The packinghouse organization, headed by Ralph Helstein, has, so far as is known, the only Negro district director in the South, in the Texas-Oklahoma-Arkansas district. In St. Louis, on the edge of the South, Harold Gibbons and his teamster group have vigorously fought for Negro rights for the better part of two decades and have been given innumerable rewards for this activity.

But counterposed to such men and such unions are the large numbers that are timid, hesitant, unwilling to stick their necks out. Recently, for instance, one of America's most important union leaders made a very generous gesture to help stricken Negroes in Mississippi. It was the kind of gesture that should have been publicized far and wide. But he insisted that it not be given any written notice because employers in the South might use this to show pro-Negro bias and thus hurt his relationship with them in the future.

Perhaps such men remain timid because on the other side of labor's fence—away from the Reuthers, Helsteins and Gibbonses—are not a few whose behavior in racial matters is anything but humanitarian.

The Old-line Unions

There are few unions these days that exclude Negroes as a matter of constitutional rule. Such constitutional sections as the one which says that "no person shall become a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers unless he is a white man" are not typical. Theoretically the vast majority of labor unions accept Negroes on the basis of equality with whites. Theoretically. But there is a considerable lag between the theory and the practice.

Old-line unions, searching for new organizational frontiers, cannot possibly exclude Negroes. It is impossible, for instance, to form a union in the service industry—laundry, hotels, hospitals, building service—without enrolling nonwhites. But, as noted, the Negro doesn't want merely to be signed to a union card and have his dues checked off. He wants status, identity, the right to rise in his own union. In many machine-run or-

ganizations he has no such opportunity. The union may practice no overt jimcrow, but in essence it has a subtle and more invidious jimcrow.

One service union in the Midwest is composed of workers in the 80c- to 90c-an-hour category. Its leaders, on the other hand, receive salaries of $8,000, $10,000, and higher, are given either Cadillacs or Oldsmobiles (depending on rank) once a year, and have standing both in the community and with management. The rank and file are almost all Negro; the leaders all white. The Negroes cannot move into the leadership because of the way the union is set up. They have no say in their contracts, never are consulted on anything, and would lose their jobs in a second if they dared organize to change this state of affairs. Collusion between management and union leader leads to low wages and captive unionism. The white worker who suffers under this regime dislikes it too, but to the Negro it is an affront of far greater proportions. It emphasizes to him his isolation and lack of status. There is here an admixture of race prejudice and bureaucracy, but to the Negro it is all one, part of the inequality he suffers all of his life.

Race prejudice is a hallmark of the building trades and railroad unions. The constitutions of a number of important railroad unions, as noted, exclude Negroes entirely. Some Negroes, of course, have been permitted into the railroad firemen's union and it is expected that the two independent railroad unions—the trainmen and the locomotive firemen and engineers—will be asked to drop this jimcrow proviso in their bylaws before being permitted into the merged federation. But there is still less than a handful of Negro engineers and conductors, and Negroes generally are kept in menial tasks such as porters or waiters without chance of upgrading. This is precisely the kind of attitude which makes the Negro suspicious of American labor unions. He wants status and identity more than he wants dollars, and whether he is at the moment qualified to take on higher skilled jobs or not, he does not want a union standing in his path with lily-white exclusion rules.

In the building trades, comprising about one-sixth of the total union membership, this type of exclusiveness is the rule rather than the exception. Negroes are permitted in unskilled labor categories, but in few places in the skilled unions. A Negro craftsman in a border city recently was asked to work on a private home. He went to the local union, applied for membership and offered the initiation fee, but was summarily refused. Thereupon he went to work on the job anyway, but the union put it on the unfair list as non-union and refused to permit other craftsmen to complete the house. To add injury to insult the Negro worker himself was beaten up and hospitalized.

Nor is divisiveness confined to

former AFL unions. For example, a CIO union in Louisiana was asked to post a boycott poster against a certain firm that was on strike. The poster showed a Negro and a white together united in the struggle against management. The union refused to post this notice unless the Negro was removed from the picture.

The Godchaux Strike

A Southern Negro professor who knows the score has predicted that not only will labor fail to organize any further in the South, but will actually lose many of its present bastions unless it mends its ways and practices the equality it preaches. Potentially the Negro can be enrolled as a scab or a strikebreaker unless he feels that he belongs, that the union considers him a human being and a friend. During the Godchaux sugar-refining strike in Louisiana, the company called its unorganized field hands to work in the refinery. This was certainly an attractive offer, since the Negro agricultural workers earned about 40c per hour, while the jobs they were offered averaged more than $1.30. Yet less than a handful accepted.

Over the years the Packinghouse Workers, involved in the strike, had testified before the Department of Agriculture, under the Sugar Act, urging higher wages for the field men as a precondition for federal subsidy to the landowners. In addition the Negro strikers at the refinery had gained a deep respect for the civil rights program of the union and had passed the word on to relatives and the Negro community in the area. The solidarity was heartening. The Company could recruit only a handful of strikebreakers in its own bailiwick; it had to go to other Negro sections two hundred miles away to secure such men. Unfortunately this situation is the all-too-rare exception.

In the North there has been some development away from the sharp cleavages of the South, and more and more Negroes are achieving a modicum of equality through and within the union movement. But as a practical measure, full equality is still a long way off, and Southern influences continue to add fuel to Northern fires too.

Northern labor has its own peculiar difficulties with the race issue. An organizer distributes a leaflet at an all-white plant. A worker asks him: "Is this AFL or CIO?" (This question is asked even though the two are now merged.) "Does it make any difference?" he responds. "Sure," says the worker, "if it's CIO we're going to have to let Negroes into our plant. We'd rather not have a union." Not every worker makes this sort of point. Most in fact do not. But there are enough such people around and enough such prejudices to make it a serious handicap in some areas. Racial hostilities may not be quite as sharp as in the South, but they are sharp enough to indicate that labor must conduct an education program on race relations that goes far beyond the ranks of the organized, to the public generally and to this type of white worker in particular.

Another organizer gives out a circular at a plant with a majority of Negro help. The Negro worker asks: "Is this AFL or CIO?" If the response is "AFL" there is an immediate resistance. The organizer must patiently explain, sometimes for hours, that there are all kinds

of unions in the AFL. Some are jimcrow, most are not. "Our particular union," he continues, "has a fine record on the race question. We permit no prejudice." He must recount all sorts of actions that the union has taken in the fight for civil rights. If he get this Negro to join, it will be by hard effort.

Equality and the Future

Now that the two federations are merged, this wariness may abate. Inclusion of two Negro vice-presidents in the roster of labor's high officialdom undoubtedly reassures Negro workers. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that some standoffishness will continue for some time to come.

The weight of scores of organizations who are lukewarm or cool to the Negro problem is so great that it pulls down the whole level of labor idealism. What this means in the sphere of political action is difficult to assess. But three things are immediately apparent:

1. Labor will never mobilize behind it the millions of liberals and neosocialists who are its natural allies, so long as its position on civil rights for the Negro is ambiguous.

2. Negroes will never become active doorbell ringers for the political committees of AFL-CIO unless they are involved as true equals in the union hierarchy.

3. Most important of all, the attitude of labor on civil rights for racial minorities is a true barometer of labor idealism.

Bureaucracy, racketeering, jimcrow—all are really birds of the same conservative feather. The union leader who looks on unions as a business is usually also a bureaucrat who stifles union democracy and who is secretly suffused with the same prejudices that prevail elsewhere in prejudiced segments of the population.

Conversely, to the extent that the more decent elements are tepid on the subject of civil rights, to that extent their political action program is mild and incapable of enthusing either Negro or white workers about labor politics.

This point is made forcefully by Willoughby (Bill) Abner, President of the NAACP in Chicago, and educational and political action director of the UAW-CIO in the region.

"A militant position on the Negro question," says Abner, "can rededicate labor to an idealistic course. The Negro wants the right to buy a house where he wants it and not in a Negro ghetto. He wants to be trained and upgraded to better jobs, the same as whites. He wants to be hired according to his ability rather than the color of his skin. If labor fights for these things it will stir the imagination of all decent people."

The two wings of American labor have joined forces to defend themselves against anti-labor legislation such as the Right-to-Work laws, and to organize the 37 million workers still outside its ranks. Both these tasks require a new injection of idealism and enthusiasm. The highly successful efforts of labor in the '30s was due precisely to that type of élan. One of the noticeable differences in the CIO's origin was the rebirth of the concept of racial equality that so many radicals and liberals brought to the new labor organization in 1935. The fight for civil rights in 1936 was both a symbol and a banner for labor progress. It will certainly be nothing less twenty-one years later.

. . . REPORT FROM THE

Mill of Peace

BY JOSEPHINE NOBLE

I ATTENDED the last two days of the general assembly of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which was held at the Trocmés' place, the Mill of Peace at Versailles (see drawing, above). It was certainly the most stimulating and satisfactory one that I have attended since I have been here and this view was shared by most of the people to whom I talked.

The general theme was "Communities of Christian Service and Nonviolence," with the sub-theme, "Can Christians Associate With Non-Christians in Nonviolent Action?" The participants included not only Protestants and Catholics, but Moslems and Jews.

Although there were talks on various exponents of nonviolence ranging from Vinoba Bhave to Danilo Dolci and Martin Luther King, it was the problem of France and Algeria which was the overriding concern of everyone present, and in order to meet this concern the scheduled program had to be cut and extra sessions added in every half hour of technically free time. The result was a state of almost complete exhaustion at the end of the four days, coupled with a feeling of satisfaction and rededication.

It is perhaps not generally known that Professor Massignon, a tireless worker for Algeria, has for the past three years, with several hundred young French Christians, been fasting and praying every Friday for peace between France and her Arab colonies. Incidentally, the head of a large factory in Lyons

circulated an account of this among his workers, with the encouraging result that several dozen of the men (not only the Christians but a number of Communists) fasted one Friday in sympathy.

On February 3, Massignon had planned a small silent protest march with some picked followers, for which he had obtained official permission by holding himself personally responsible for the nonviolent nature of the demonstration. Unfortunately, *Le Monde* mentioned that such a demonstration was planned, and permission was withdrawn on the grounds that counter-demonstrations would take place. Massignon was able to telephone the few on whom he had counted, but 200 people whom he had not expected turned up at the meeting place. In another area 500 people met for a similar silent demonstration.

In common with other speakers, Massignon felt that there are many people in the government who have become increasingly aware of their responsibility for the Algerian crisis, but that they hesitate to act in a more constructive manner without (as they feel) the support of French public opinion. There was also a general feeling that people in France are not on the whole aware of what is being done in their name by the "pacification" forces in North Africa. The need for a public information campaign was underlined again and again by the different speakers.

Among these was Robert Barrat, a young French journalist, who has become very concerned over French action in Algeria and who has spent a good deal of time there (unfortunately, however, only since the situation has deteriorated) interviewing prominent Arab leaders. He is a convinced Catholic and is supported by many. Because of this, apparently, he is allowed to continue writing about what he has seen. He has collected a dossier on atrocities that have been attested to by returning soldiers; this was published recently. Copies have been sent to all deputies, pastors, priests, newspapers and prominent personalities. At the same time an open letter was sent to the President and to the newspapers, calling attention to these atrocities, and it was hoped that it would receive good publicity. The letter is not written exactly in terms that Friends would have used. It refers to the stain on French honor and the effect such actions have on the young soldiers who have to carry them out. This approach probably will have more weight with the general public, however, and French Friends have signed in a spirit of solidarity with other pacifist groups.

An Intensive Campaign

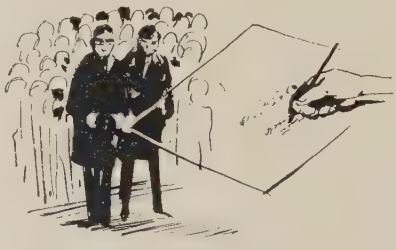
A well-organized and clearly defined campaign was held from March 30 through April 20 with the object of obtaining at least a cease-fire for Easter (which coincides in part with Ramadan). A suggestion was made to take the words of the UN resolution on Algeria as a slogan, but this was felt to be somewhat ironic and might have political implications. It was hoped that the campaign could remain completely nonpolitical and be waged on purely moral grounds.

André Trocmé seemed to voice the general feeling of the French people present, when he said: "We must accept the guilt for what is being done in our name even if the

Arab nationalists are not yet ready to accept the guilt for what is being done in their name. Perhaps this will follow, perhaps not, but in any case *we* must take the first step."

Many of the proposals made at the FOR meetings at the Mill of Peace have since been put into action, and, although they were far from enough to have the needed effect, they are as much worth reporting as they were worth doing. Some of the highlights of the campaign follow.

Lanzo del Vasto, author of *Pélérinage aux Sources,* founder of the religious community de l'Arche, and a follower of Gandhi, undertook a 20-day period of fasting and prayer at a house in Clichy where both French and Algerian workers live. Also in Clichy, on May 19, some 400 people marched in silent protest against the Algerian war. In Strasbourg, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish students fasted on the first day of Ramadan. Many Moslems in Algeria were moved by these and other such gestures throughout France, and in Morocco, the weekly, *Al Istiqlal* published the full text of Lanza's appeal for nonviolence.



The Paris newspaper, *Combat,* also reported in full a speech by Massignon on the efficacy of nonviolence.

At this writing, French public opinion seems evenly divided into three groups—those for keeping Algeria French, those for independence, and those with no opinion. The terrible May 29 massacre at Melmouza may well swing the undecided third into the first camp, with demands for even more severe reprisals.

Other News of FOR Meeting

Other events at the Mill of Peace assembly included a report by the Mennonites on their housebuilding project in Algeria and the showing of a film by the Service Civil about their interracial work camp in Tunisia. The war in Algeria was linked with related subjects, such as conscientious objection (it is possible that another deputy will be willing to present this project in the Assembly before too long) and the attitude of the churches.

Speak Truth to Power was mentioned favorably, albeit with the criticism that there was only one paragraph on possible conduct in the case of invasion. Trocmé feels that the farmer is the only person fully capable of passive resistance in any occupied country. Employees and functionaries are paralyzed by fear of staravation for their families. He feels that pacifist groups in France need the experience of former resistants who have become COs to help them to think this problem through to its logical conclusion.

The first proofs of an interesting experiment in pacifist propaganda, entitled "Les Chrétiens, l'Evangile et la Guerre," were discussed. It is a special issue of *Cahiers de la Réconciliation,* contains articles by well-known pacifists, and is well illustrated. (See cut, p. 15.)

I cannot close this account without saying a few words about Magda Trocmé, for whom I feel a deep affection and admiration. She ran the practical side of the conference and had over fifty people living in the house (with only a part-time maid), and meals were provided for sixty to seventy people.

In talking about segregation in the United States, she told of her first visit in 1929 when she lived at International House in New York. Then she went on to her second trip, under the auspices of AFSC, of which the high spot for her was her participation in an interracial seminar which was cut off from the outside world by floods for several days. Here, apparently, the spirit was quite remarkable and made a deep impression on the young people, many of whom had never been in an interracial community before.

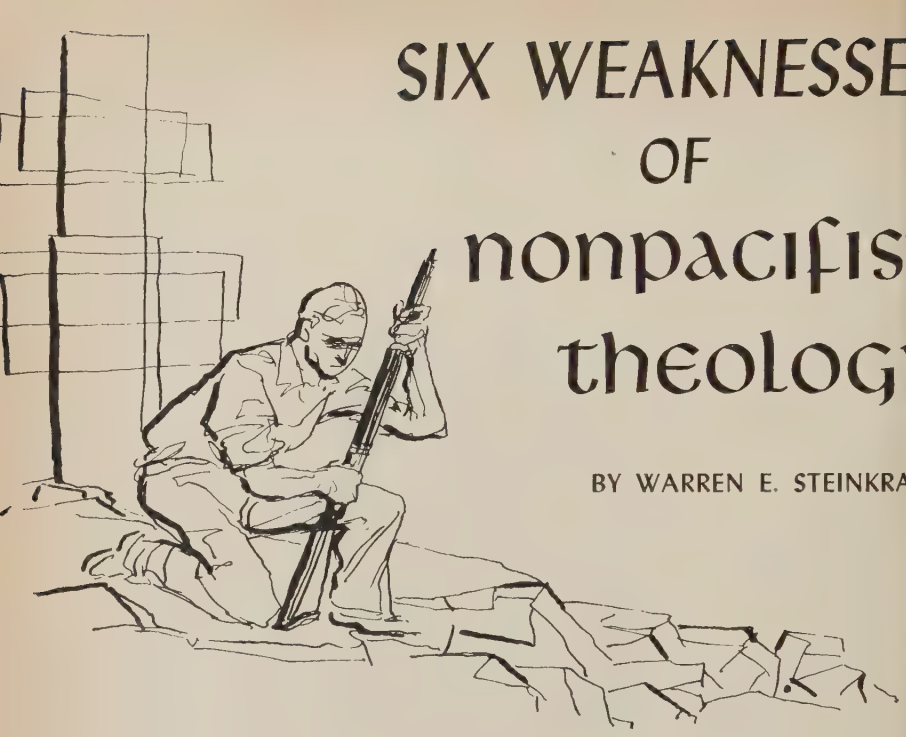
During her third visit, from which she has just recently returned, Magda spoke at Negro mass meetings in Montgomery and Tallahassee, and visited Clinton, Tennessee. Her understanding of the integration problem and her objectivity in presenting it was quite remarkable. She did not mention a single incident of which Americans need to feel ashamed without finding a parallel in France, and those of us from other countries did not need to look far to find equivalent excesses committed in our own names.

When one knows how André and Magda and many of the others have suffered for their principles, it is inspiring to realize that they are the backbone of the pacifist movement in France. For those of us from more privileged countries where conscientious objection is an accepted right, there is a need to take part in such meetings from time to time and feel again the crusading fevor which some of us may have lost.

Thermodynamics of Love

The human heart would seem to be so constituted by law of nature as to be melted into love by the love of another, if only that love be itself of a high enough moral temperature, and be brought into close enough contact with it. It seems to be as certain that the human heart will melt at a given temperature, as that iron will melt if subjected to a certain heat.

FREDERICK SEEBOHM
quoted in "A Simple Faith"
by A. Ruth Fry



SIX WEAKNESSES OF nonpacifist theology

BY WARREN E. STEINKRAU

IN SPITE OF the increasing popularity of a Christianity which avoids a pacifist commitment, a staunch core of church leaders still uncompromisingly affirms Christian pacifism. Indeed, the roll of eminent churchmen who are pacifists is as impressive as the list of those who clearly disavow it, although the number is smaller. Pacifists in denominations which are not historically peace-oriented, including Roman Catholics, have come to their nonconformist position only after serious deliberation and prayer, often at a loss of personal prestige and position.

It is a blight on the history of the Church that so many earnest pacifist preachers have been pushed into pulpits and positions of virtual exile by church authorities because of their views. They would probably be willing to give up their pacifism if some of the arguments which led them to accept it could be adequately answered by the non-pacifist. The pacifist believes that the non-pacifist has erred in his thought on a number of key issues. Until non-pacifists cope seriously with such problems as these, they cannot expect the growing pacifist minority in the churches, especially the youth, to soften their witness. There are at least six such problems which we may call errors of non-pacifist theology.

Lack of Trust in Love

I. The first major weakness of the non-pacifist is his lack of a practical trust in the power of God's love. He does not seem to believe that God's love can literally and actually be released in history in any significant way in the social process. He announces that man's ultimate hope is in God and that the way of love will ultimately triumph, but he fails to see the practical implications of this for action.

This may be due to a conception of the radical transcendence of God which, as Walter Muelder has said, "leaves little spiritual security for man and no way whereby faith releases the love of God into social process."[1] The non-pacifist grants the theoretical efficacy of God's love but denies it as an effective power in human hearts, maintaining that the pacifist way of redemption cannot be practiced with any success. Congregations sing, "The arm of flesh will fail you . . . trust in His might alone," but their leaders sanction that arm of flesh, believing theoretically that it will fail but practically that it will win. The non-pacifist fails to recognize that the resources of the Christian are as infinite as God's love. He has failed to realize, as G. H. C. Macgregor has pointed out, that faith in God's power of love working in men and history "might so incalculably transform the whole situation as to confound our fears about consequences."[2]

Cannot the Christian believe that this universe is ultimately in the control of a supreme loving person; and will he not guarantee the instability of injustice and evil? Will not the way of suffering love triumph even though it meet temporary defeat? The non-pacifist is atheistic in a sense, for in practice he denies that the way of love will triumph over all odds. Leyton Richards once said: "Despair of the Christian ideal or the Christian method is always atheistic, for it leaves God out of account and treats the problems with which men grapple as a mere conflict of human wills. . . . The Christian knows that God himself is at war with war."[3]

Lack of Faith in Redemption

II. A second error of the non-pacifist Christian is that he does not seriously believe in experimenting in acts of social and international redemption. He is unimaginative, because he cannot envisage any other day. He is unwilling to consider seriously the need for an entirely new approach to world problems, and he succumbs finally to trust in armed might as the ultimate way to deal with evil nations because he has insufficient imagination to see any other way. He justifies war on the ground that evil must be stopped, and though he may not bless the instrument of war, he may accept it "wholeheartedly,"[4] as one theologian did the last war, and with it all that it entails, from hand grenades to H-Bombs. He thinks he can stop evil and injustice and defend the cause

1 Walter G. Muelder, "A Philosophy for Postwar Pacifism," FELLOWSHIP, December 1944, p. 200.

2 G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Challenge to the Church," FELLOWSHIP, March 1953, p. 11.

3 Leyton Richards, *Christian Pacifism After Two World Wars*, London: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1948, p. 100f.

4 Henry S. Coffin, "The Continuing Pacifist Menace," in *Christianity and Crisis*, Nov. 16, 1942, p. 1.

of righteousness by war. But in the name of justice after the last war, as Paul Scherer has pointed out, "there were thirty million deaths in the armed services, nine million prisoners, nine million missing, fifteen million widows, sixty million wounded, and thirty million refugees."[5]

The non-pacifist Christian is a starry-eyed idealist and visionary when he believes that peace can come out of war and good fruits can come from evil seeds. To talk now, as some have, of how war may be necessary to prevent tyranny and promote justice is abstract and removed from the facts. That great "realist," Winston Churchill, has said: "The major war of the future will differ from anything we have known in the past in this one significant respect, that each side at the outset will suffer what it dreads the most—the loss of everything it has ever known."[6] The non-pacifist is afraid to try a new approach, hoping that somehow the old techniques, which have never worked, will by some miracle work in *this* situation. He is opposed to a Christianity which is adventurous and experimental. He is often unwilling to consider in any serious way the whole area of nonviolent resistance to tyranny. Before he examines and refutes, he scoffs and ignores.

It is hard to imagine the early Christian living in the "tragic" days of Rome arguing in defense of the status quo as certain modern-day theologians argue for the mass-murder of war as the "lesser evil."

Cannot the Christian Church be the channel for redemptive love in the world, instead of being a debating society on the *kerygma* of neo-Augustinian theology? How much easier it is to talk than to experiment! But only an imaginative, earnest and experimental use of the love which was shown on the cross of Jesus can stop war. As Nels Ferré has written: "The vicious circle of wars and yet more wars keeps revolving in the history of secular civilization; and only a resolute faith in the transforming power of the cross of Christ, both preached and practiced, can break that circle."[7]

Non-pacifists do not seem to have this resolute faith, and they spend a good deal of time criticizing it in others. Christian pacifism is exploratory and adventurous. Pacifists "experiment in those forms of community and those social institutions which conserve the findings of science."[8] The validity of the nonviolent approach to social and international problems "comes not from itself primarily, but from the principle of positive love, mutuality and the grace of God which one shares in human community."[9]

In sanctioning the way of armed might for dealing with world problems, the non-pacifist Christian exercises the very function which Jesus asks us to withhold. The duty of the Christian is redemptive work, not condemnation and judgment of the enemy. This is God's work. What is the non-pacifist doing to see that the pattern of the military is changed? Could he refuse to sanction a preventive war? The pacifist is one who does not believe in peace at any price, but in

5 Paul Scherer, "The Christian Faith and Modern War," a pamphlet published by the Church Peace Mission, 1951, p. 7.
6 Quoted in *The New Yorker*, March 19, 1955, p. 29.
7 *Nels Ferré*, "The Non-Conformist Conscience," in *Christian Century*, April 30, 1941, p. 587.
8 Walter G. Muelder, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
9 Ibid.

love at all costs, as Dick Sheppard has said.

"Selective Altruism"

III. In the third place, the non-pacifist Christian has a selective kind of altruism. He shows an appealing concern for the innocent and defenseless of his own land and lands invaded by the enemy. He believes it is the Christian's task to protect the weak who cannot defend themselves, and so he argues that pacifism is irresponsible when it does not protect the innocent against the cruelties of a Hitler or a Tojo or the North Koreans. But does this lofty concern for guiltless victims enable him to justify destroying the guilty, and, by the way, thousands of the defenseless who happen to be the wives and children of the guilty? Indeed, the innocent suffer unjustly in modern war and the Christian's indignation is aroused when he sees little ones suffer, but is that an excuse to increase the amount of suffering by bombing the enemy's little ones? The Christian must have an altruism which holds for *all* men and must seek to do that which is creatively redemptive for all.

It is abstract to talk about protecting the innocent and defenseless in modern war. Pacifist Christians are interested in protecting all innocents, even though it entails suffering. The non-pacifist Christian has to sanction the saturation bombing of defenseless members of the enemy, however reluctantly, while he "defends" his own innocents. It was pitiful to see how some churchmen justified the Hiroshima atomic bombing at the close of World War II. It was like the exegete going through athletic exercises to get the rich man man through the eye of the needle! It is gratifying to find Archbishop Cushing now calling Americans to repentance for this crime.[10]

Leyton Richards once asked: Is the Christian "to save the guiltless from suffering or to save the guilty from sin. . .? [The] lofty response to a neighbor's need must be subordinate to still higher consideration. . . . The non-pacifist Christian must not forget that the Gospel has a cross at its center, and not even an altruistic concern for a 'third party' can qualify its uncompromising demand for fidelity to the Christian way."[11]

In the name of altruism and the presumed defense of the helpless in World War II, we inflicted in Germany more than twenty-four times the amount of suffering the British endured. The bombing of Berlin was eighty times the intensity of London's heaviest attack,[12] to say nothing of the two atomic bombs dropped in Japan. The non-pacifist, in his selective altruism, seems to tolerate a loss of sensitivity for all innocents and a callous indifference to suffering. Presum-

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10 In *The Pilot*, official paper of the Boston Archdiocese, the following editorial material appeared: "No one has dared to speak of guilt. Isn't it about time now, ten years later, to try to be honest with ourselves and face up to the terrible implications of what we once caused to happen . . .? No barbarian in the history of man ever snuffed out human life more wantonly, or with such speedy effectiveness. . . . Can we think God will not ask us to answer for this? . . . The nation would be appalled even today if an international tribunal should suggest that those who decided to drop the bomb should be called to some new Nuremburg to answer for it." (Quoted in *The Commonweal*, September 16, 1955, p. 592.)

11 Leyton Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

12 This is based on a summary of official statistics given out by the British Aur Vice Marshal, R.H.M.S. Saundby, quoted in *Time*, December 20, 1943, p. 26f.

ably, those Christians who justified the dropping of the atomic bombs held that it would protect more American lives. This was precisely the way Goering justified the bombing of Coventry, Rotterdam, and Warsaw. It was the prospective loss of German lives that saddened him into slaughtering thousands of innocents.

Onesided View of Facts

IV. In the fourth place, the non-pacifist Christian takes a onesided view of the facts. He rightly observes the horrifying cruelties of a Hitler and the gross evils of the Buchenwalds and the Lidices. He notes Stalin's purges and slave labor in the USSR; but isn't he prone to forget about the obliteration bombing of Dresden, the jellied gasoline used by the UN in its "police action" in Korea, the two atomic bombs, and the activity of government-sponsored scientists to produce more deadly weapons?

There is evil on all sides, not just one. Charles Fahy, writing in the United Nations Bulletin, noted that war criminals were those men who "initiated and carried on aggressive war on innocent people, or who committed atrocious crimes, or crimes violating the laws of warfare."[13] Does this not in part make Americans war criminals too? It has yet to be shown that the mass burning of 100,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not an atrocious crime.

Some non-pacifists will admit that evil is not limited to the enemy, but then they quickly add that everyone is necessarily and inescapably involved in such evil and consequently has no right to oppose the war system. But this too is a one-sided outlook. It is hard to see why the fact that we are historically involved in evil requires that we acquiesce in it and bend our efforts to its furtherance, however reluctantly.[14]

No pacifist would deny that all are in some sense involved in evil, but he would go on to suggest that we are likewise involved in the good. We may indeed share responsibility for the provocation of war, but we also share responsibility for the justice, equality, and cooperation that we find present in society. Since we are also responsible for the good, John Swomley has asked: "Does it not therefore follow that we ought to throw our weight as much as we can in the direction of love, cooperation, equality, and peace, so that society is the richer for our living?"[15]

Along with overemphasizing man's ineluctable responsibility for the evils of war, some non-pacifist Christians take a onesided view of human nature which helps them provide a rationale for their attitudes. They hold to a pessimistic view of man and argue that the lofty Christian gospel of love is consequently inapplicable. But why define human nature in its arrested

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[13] Charles Fahy, quoted in an article: "Surrender and Trial of War Criminals," *The United Nations Weekly Bulletin*, October 28, 1947, p. 569. (Note the quotation in footnote 10 above.)

[14] On this point, Canon Charles E. Raven has sharply written: "Has all our theology of crisis and denunciation merely brought us to the place at which because we are fallen sinners we can excuse ourselves for any sin, however monstrous and diabolical? If so, let us repent and return to the liberalism which for all its tolerance never pretended that evil was good or that men could reject moral standards without abjuring Christ." (*Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism*, New York: Fellowship Publications, 1951, p. 15.)

[15] John M. Swomley Jr., "Religion of the Lesser Evil," FELLOWSHIP, February 1949, p. 11.

stages, forgetting its indefinite malleability and potentiality? There are more weeds in a garden than there are flowers, but this is hardly a reason to pull out the flowers that the weeds may grow! Non-pacifists, though offering an important warning against undue optimism, must take seriously the pacifist's assertion that "the pacifism of radical Christianity confronts our whole actual system with the whole gospel of Christ," as Nels Ferré has said.[16]

Not Protestant Enough

V. A fifth error of the non-pacifist Christian is that he is not sufficiently protestant in his attitude. He is not willing to decide the war question as a matter of principle but takes each one as it comes, and always, somehow, comes around to justifying it. Christians who support the war system will not say that war is intrinsically evil, but would rather judge each one on its merits. But few Christians judge each case of human slavery, rape, or blasphemy in this way! It is a real question whether the Christian church has ever seen fit to condemn any given war that the powers that be have sanctioned.

It seems strange that most historic wars have been justified by the Church. Each one, the pacifist is told, is unique and has to be reviewed afresh. Each one has as its aim the stopping of some evil horde which is about to overrun the world. Accordingly, no one can say that the war system as such should be wholly repudiated. Does the Christian do this with cases of slavery, blasphemy or cannibalism? Are there some situations where such acts may be justified as the lesser of two evils? Are there not some things which are always wrong from a Christian standpoint? Must each case of torture, matricide and enforced prostitution be treated as possibly a case of the "lesser evil"? The non-pacifist wing of the church has not seen fit to break with war though it has long since broken with obscenity, idolatry, and infanticide. War includes these, and yet pacifists are told that war is the lesser evil. By some strange logic, the whole is better than the sum of its evil parts. Just how bad does a war have to be before a non-pacifist will say it is wrong?

A truly protestant stand is needed on war. H. H. Farmer has suggested that the ineffectiveness of the Church's witness comes from "an over-readiness to argue on the basis of probable consequences, and not enough on the basis of the intrinsic wickedness of war in the sight of God."[17] The Church which is clear on other moral questions cannot make up its mind on the one which now seems to count most—war.

Pacifism as a Straw Man

VI. A final weakness in the non-pacifist position is indifference. It is a failure to recognize the best that

[16] Quoted in Muelder, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[17] Herbert H. Farmer, "The Christian and War," in Rufus Jones (Ed.), *The Church, the Gospel and War*, New York: Harpers, 1948, p. 68.

has been thought and said on the side of Christian pacifism. A wide reading of the Quaker pamphlet, *Speak Truth to Power,* and the debate it provoked in the October 1955 *Progressive* may help this. There is an unwillingness to study the issues afresh even when stated by a Canon Raven or a Nels Ferré. Fashion and mood too easily decide the question. There is no real wrestling with the arguments. Most churchmen, without knowing pacifism at its best, have a battery of straw men they can knock over whenever some young inquirer seeks help on the problem.

A. When the New Testament is appealed to, the non-pacifist, without refuting Macgregor's *New Testament Basis of Pacifism,* quickly asserts that the Sermon on the Mount is an "interim ethic" which is inapplicable now. (But with the prospect of H-bomb and biological warfare, the end of the world may be envisaged: we may just now be in the interim period and require, consequently, this interim ethic!)

B. Or the non-pacifist may suggest that since man's nature is basically sinful, all judgments against war are examples of "simple moralism" or perfectionism. (And yet the non-pacifist who argues this way virtually claims that it is immoral for one to be a pacifist. The pacifist's earnest attempt to be virtuous is deemed a sin!)

C. Again, the non-pacifist accuses the pacifist testimony of being "corrupted by self-righteousness" and thinks that by this epithet he has pointed out its most serious weakness. (But if pacifism promotes self-righteousness, non-pacifism promotes self-pity by the constant debasing reminder that "the mess is in us." Both are reprehensible. As C. J. Cadoux has noted, the concern in such matters is not to judge persons but deeds and principles. The question is, what is God's command—not what is the state of the soul.[18]

D. Or it is urged that the pacifist, in rejecting war, has therefore accepted tyranny. (But it may be noted that war has brought tyranny and that there are more than two alternatives for the Christian, such as the way of nonviolence, continued negotiation, or national repentance.

E. Similarly, the non-pacifist knocks down the familiar straw man that pacifism cannot work because there are not yet enough pacifists. (One wonders what the Christian church would be today if early Christians in Rome had said: "We dare not make a witness, for there are not enough of us yet.")

F. There is also the argument from tragic necessity which argues that all choices are between the lesser of two evils. (But who can say with any assurance these days that war *is* the lesser evil, when it contains all known evils and some unknown ones?)

G. Some who have seen the implications of pacifism argue that we cannot expect to persuade our nation to take the path of crucifixion.

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[18] Cecil J. Cadoux, *Christian Pacifism Re-examined,* Oxford: Blackwell, 1940, p. 143.

(But A. J. Muste has noted that even Christian leaders and churches won't take that path. "How do we know that war-weary multitudes would *not* respond if Christian leaders in the church were to take the stand of renunciation. . . ? What right have we to say that they would not answer the call when it has never been sounded?")[19]

Non-pacifist Christians have not really stated their case in a thorough way. They may talk of the difficulty of making a decision, the terrible dilemmas and responsibilities involved, but let them shed some light from the mind of the Master. In these days there is a suspension of judgment on war particularly on the part of most bishops and other church leaders who often wait to see which way the wind is blowing. Macgregor has suggested that the indecision on war characteristic of leaders at the 1948 Amsterdam Conference shows that the "whole theological basis for the Christian non-pacifist position has collapsed. . . . Pacifists may well claim that their case wins by default."[20] It is not hard to agree with that statement.

[19] A. J. Muste, "On the Other Hand," FELLOWSHIP, June 1947, p. 99.

[20] G. H. C. Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 4f.

A Letter the White House Didn't Release

Every so often, some youngster writes a letter to the President of the United States. You've read about them—the President writes a kindly note in reply, sometimes even enclosing a memento, the press department goes into action, and the newspapers give the whole thing a big play.

The following letter did not get a big play, or any play at all. It is an authentic letter, too, written entirely by the signer with no help except with some of the spelling by his FOR-member parents.

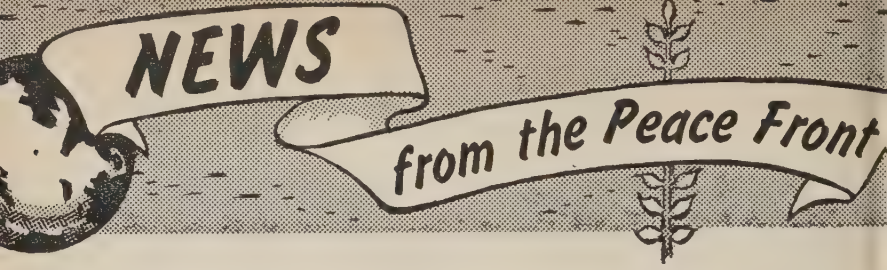
Dear Mr. Eisenhower,

I would be very happy if you would try to stop those bomb tests that are making so much strontium-90. If this keeps up, so many men will be sick that life might go from this earth. If there is anything we do not need it is that. There are just two things that will happen if the tests go on. All men will be sick. The other is that the tests will be stopped.

I think we could make a lot of power with the atom. And we could make the earth a place of sickness. The atom must be for peace or not at all. Look at all the good things that the atom has done for us. Some big towns have atom power plants, men are trying to make atom cars, there are more things.

You are a very good man and I know that you can find out a way to stop these silly tests. I want my kids to be good and well. I do not want them to be sick. I am six years old and in the second grade.

CONRAD HODSON



Personnel Matters Occupy E. C. Meeting

Personnel discussions occupied most of the last regular meeting of the FOR Executive Committee before summer. The meeting was held May 27 at the home of Mrs. B. W. Hamilton, in New York City.

The national Personnel Committee reported that it was in the process of meeting and talking with a dozen or more applicants for the three positions open: a "national" secretary, national youth secretary, and midwest secretary.

The Personnel Committee recommended, and the Executive Committee accepted, a delineation of the responsibilities to be carried by the executive secretary (John Swomley), the national field secretary (Glenn Smiley), and the new "national" secretary, whose precise title was left to be determined later. The role of the new staff member was construed as working largely among church groups, in seminaries, with local FOR groups and individual members, and with denominational pacifist fellowships and the Church Peace Mission. Details of assignments were to remain flexible to permit adjustment to the special abilities of the new person.

The Committee named Alfred Hassler, publications director and editor of FELLOWSHIP, to serve as acting executive secretary during John Swomley's leave of absence.

The Committee discussed the continuing development of world opposition to H-bomb testing and the role of the FOR in the situation. It heard a report on the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" from some of its members who had attended the Washington meeting. One such member observed that the white ministers present at the largely Negro gathering had appeared to be principally FOR members.

FOR National Council Policy on FBI Inquiries

Pressure of other news last month made it impossible to give the full text of the FOR National Council's April 26 minute on certification of FOR membership in response to inquiries from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which follows:

> "Federal civil service job reference forms ask if the applicant seeking government employment is a 'security risk.' This question disturbs many who feel that government has no right to inquire into the political thinking, associations, and activities of the individual seeking government employment. Many feel that, morally, they cannot give such information. Yet there is the understandable desire to assist the job seeker in his goal.
>
> "The National Council asks that FOR members give careful thought to the possibility that in answering such questions we are supporting a

vicious system of investigation that strikes at individual freedom of thought and association.

"The National Council suggests that FOR members conscientiously opposed to answering questions relating to security risk should attach to the reference form a suitable statement explaining their conscientious position against government interference in the personal beliefs and associations of the individual. Those questions relating to the professional qualifications and abilities of the applicant present no problem. It is further suggested that the job applicant be informed of this action and be furnished a copy of the answer to the objectionable questions.

"Some members deem it best in the present period to decline to answer such questionnaires at all in protest against the whole system of government inquisition into political opinions, activities and associations of citizens. There is furthermore a risk that if one answers the so-called routine questions, failure to answer the one relating to 'security risk' will, in spite of explanations, be interpreted by a government agency as implying that the applicant may be a 'security risk.'"

Council's Stand on Passport Oaths

Another minute, touching on the same principle of individual conscience as it relates to the question of loyalty oaths on passport applications, was also adopted by the Nation Council:

"The Council learned with interest and concern of members of the Fellowship who have found themselves conscientiously opposed to answering the statement, 'I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist party,' now required in the passport application.

"The Council records its support of those members who in good conscience are unwilling to yield to this encroachment on individual freedom or to acquiesce in such test oaths which, they believe, are based on an erroneous concept of loyalty, and are a part of a growing system of inquisition into the individual's political views and associations and result in drawing a line between members of the human family."

The National Council adopted a "Certification of Membership" form for verifying the FOR membership of draft registrants whose claim to CO status is investigated by FBI agents. This form will be used in all future cases to avoid the misunderstandings that have arisen from oral statements.

Meetings at New FOR Peace Center

The first Spring of the FOR's occupancy of its new peace center at Nyack, New York, has already demonstrated the potential popularity of the center for meetings of FOR and related groups. Although repairs and redecorating are far from complete, the center already has had a surprisingly active program.

National staff and Council meetings, occupying the last week in April, were followed during May by an all-day orientation session of the Council for Student Travel, a weekend retreat of the New York executive committee of the American Friends Service Committee, and an FOR-sponsored ministers' forum led by Kirby Page.

The first of June saw an all-day "peace institute" sponsored by the New York Monthly Meeting of Friends. Scheduled for later in the summer were an orientation session of the European tour operated by Horizon Tours and sponsored by the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, and an FOR public meeting with Prof. Hideo Hashimoto of Lewis and Clark College, on his return from a mission to Ghana. The Fall will

see the annual conference of the New York regional FOR, October 4, 5 and 6.

In addition to these, several work camps and campers are expected during the summer.

Opposition to H-Bomb Continues to Grow

Developments on the growing widespread opposition to further nuclear weapons tests have reached a point exceeding FELLOWSHIP's capacity to provide full detailed coverage. Hence the following news capsules should not be considered as slight as they are brief.

• Last month some 2,200 U.S. scientists joined Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize chemist, in a petition to Congress urging international agreement to halt further tests. Among the signers were Dr. L. H. Snyder, president of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Ralph E. Lapp (who also forcefully pointed out the perils of radiation on the Mike Wallace Interview on television), Dr. Edward U. Condon, Dr. Harlow Shapley, and Nobel Prizewinners Dr. H. J. Muller and Dr. Joseph Erlanger. At least one AEC scientist was in the group—David L. Hill of the Los Alamos Laboratory.

• Mrs. Robert I. C. Prout, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, with 850,000 members, said this of the tests: "Perhaps we've had enough for a while." Mrs. Prout was reported to have said also that the major goal of women's groups today was "to prevent another war."

• Deputy Defense Secretary Donald A. Quarles, speaking at Memorial Day Services in Arlington National Cemetery, said that science had made war so horrible that it could no longer serve the policies of any nation. Quarles set as a goal of our generation "not merely averting war but getting it abolished." Unfortunately, however, he said it was necessary to maintain a powerful peacetime military force.

• 1,401 out of 2,894 Methodist ministers have gone on record in opposition to dropping an atom bomb on a foreign city under any circumstances, according to results made public on May 25 from a questionnaire circulated by the Fellowship of Methodist Pacifists. Of the same 2,894 replies, 1,231 opposed American stockpiling of nuclear weapons and 1,528 thought that U.S. possession of the H-bomb had no deterrent value against a possible Russian attack.

• On May 31, the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Assn. approved a resolution calling upon the U.S., Great Britain and the USSR to halt nuclear weapons tests.

• German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who in April had bitterly assailed the eighteen scientists who refused to work on atomic weapons, did an about-face and invited them to join him in urging a general controlled disarmament in atomic weapons. The German government issued a communiqué stating that it was not planning to manufacture its own atomic weapons and "sees no cause to request German nuclear scientists to participate in the development of these weapons."

• Karl Barth, famed Swiss Protestant theologian, has called upon people in leading public positions to "use all possible means to make their government and press understand they wish neither to exter-

minate nor be exterminated," and not be put off with "political appeasing assurances."

• 63% of the American people are for halting nuclear tests by international agreement, with inspection provisions, according to a recent Gallup poll. 52% also felt there is a real danger now from fallout.

• Henry J. Cadbury, chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, wrote as follows to the chairman of the Nobel Prize Committee: "As another recipient of the Nobel Prize, the American Friends Service Committee wishes to associate itself with Dr. Albert Schweitzer's recent appeal for the discontinuance of nuclear tests by all nations. Besides the biological dangers mentioned, we would emphasize the moral reasons which condemn both war and the preparations for it. We welcome the growing public opinion that presses governments to agree on discontinuance."

• In England, the *Daily Express* reported that the Christmas Island tests had been hurried up because the Foreign Office had warned military leaders that "it might soon be impossible to stave off the growing demand for banning H-bomb explosions." Numerous protest meetings were held throughout England, and the British Council of Churches petitioned the British government and called upon other governments to desist from further tests, press for an early agreement on nuclear weapons control and secure drastic reduction of all armaments. The British FOR's Annual Council, meeting in London, "strongly condemned" the government "in proceeding to test its nuclear weapons, and its determination to continue with further tests."

T. H. Ends Death Penalty Two States To Keep It

On June 5, Governor Samuel Wilder King signed a bill abolishing the death penalty for capital crimes in the Territory of Hawaii, in favor of life imprisonment with no possibility of parole.

After earlier successes, bills to declare moratoriums on capital punishment in Massachusetts and California were defeated in the legislatures of those states. The Massachusetts House also defeated, 83 to 9, a proposal for a statewide referendum on banning the death penalty. In California the moratorium bill was passed, 43 to 29, by the Assembly but was tabled by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In Illinois, as FELLOWSHIP went to press, a bill proposing a six-year moratorium was approved by the House Judiciary Committee and had the backing of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago and Warden Joseph E. Ragen of Joliet penitentiary.

In Oregon, Governor Robert D. Holmes signed a bill eliminating the death penalty except as a punishment for treason or for murder committed by prison "lifers." This bill is subject to a referendum to be held in November 1958.

In Washington and Idaho, letters were sent to legislators by the annual Washington Congregational Christian Conference which met early in May in Seattle, urging action to abolish the death penalty.

Evincing the FOR's abiding concern on this issue, Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary Charles C. Walker has written a radio script which discusses it. Copies may be obtained from him on request. His address is Cheyney, Penna.

Smiley Teaches At NCC Institute

Last month, before starting a busy round of regional FOR conferences, National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley conducted a daily workshop on nonviolence for the National Council of Churches' Ecumenical Institute at Lake Junaluska, N. C., June 2-7.

A week before this, Smiley conducted three all-day workshops at the First Annual Institute of the Inter-Civic Council in Tallahassee, Florida, May 27-29, where he also conducted an evening panel discussion.

One leg of his month-long travels took Smiley to Los Angeles, where he was given a testimonial dinner attended by over 200 people. He was introduced to Kirby Page, who later said the gathering was one of the most successful the FOR there has seen in years. Film star Hugh Beaumont emceed. During the course of the whole trip, Smiley discussed nonviolence and race relations in 69 full-scale addresses, 7 radio interviews, four television appearances and three press conferences. "People," he reported, "are really interested!"

King, Smiley Photo In Encyclopedia Annual

The Americana Annual 1957, a supplement to the Encyclopedia Americana dealing with the events of 1956, includes a photograph of Montgomery bus protest leader Martin Luther King Jr. seated beside FOR National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley. The photo is similar to one which appeared on the cover of the January 1957 FELLOWSHIP. It appears in a one-and-a-half-page entry titled "Negroes, American," which includes more than a paragraph about the events in Montgomery.

Pat Smiley Weds

The Rev. and Mrs. Glenn E. Smiley announced last month the marriage of their daughter, Patricia Anne, to Aldrich P. Kong of Boston. The wedding was to be held on June 26 in Boston, where the couple will make their home. Mr. Kong is studying electrical engineering at Northeastern University in that city.

Students Protest ROTC In Wis. Poster Walk

On May 24, twenty-two members of the University of Wisconsin's Student Peace Center engaged in an anti-ROTC poster walk. Among the slogans on the placards were "End Compulsory ROTC" and "Less Militarism, More Education." The poster walk was conducted for twenty minutes, just before the start of a Naval ROTC review for President's Inspection ceremonies at the University.

Earlier in the season, on the night following the annual Military Ball, the Student Peace Center held a "Satyagrahop" in the Student Union Building. The anti-military ball was organized as another protest against compulsory ROTC courses, and included dancing to recorded music and folk singing to the accompaniment of guitar, mandolin and washtub bass. Midway in the evening, the Hop was interrupted for a skit dealing with pacifist efforts to get the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 30)

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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 28)
heads of three imaginary countries to talk peace, and a staged satire on military drill. A table had free pacifist literature on display. Over 200 students attended.

Mother Pickets White House To Free CO Son

Mrs. Esther Eichel has been picketing the White House daily in an effort to obtain the release of her son, 26-year-old Seymour, who was sentenced last December to a year and a day in prison for refusing to register for the draft in 1948.

On May 10, Eichel went on a hunger strike after he was subjected to forcible vaccination. After twelve days, prison officials began force feeding him. He resumed eating normally on June 10.

Seymour is the son of Julius Eichel, a CO who served more than two years in prison for refusal to register for the draft during World War I.

Christian Herald Prints Pacifism, Pro and Con

The June issue of the *Christian Herald* (circ. 400,000), monthly interdenominational magazine, featured articles for and against pacifism by FELLOWSHIP Editor Alfred Hassler and Lawrence P. Fitzgerald, editor of *The Link*, a religious magazine for members of the armed forces. The two articles appeared under this joint heading: "With fuses burning on powder kegs around the globe, this might be a time for the followers of Christ to re-examine their thoughts on the use of arms. Is it Christian or not? Herewith the two sides."

CO Exempted From ROTC at MIT

In Cambridge, Mass., a student who is a conscientious objector was granted exemption from an ROTC course in Military Science, hitherto required for all students. As a result of a letter to the Dean of Students, supplemented by a letter from his pastor, Warren D. Siemens was permitted to take a substitute course in International Relations. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology thus has become the twenty-third out of forty-two land-grant institutions to grant such exemption.

As FELLOWSHIP went to press, a suit by another CO, Kenneth G. Hanauer, to obtain similar exemption from ROTC courses at the University of Maryland, was pending in Circuit Court.

In Kansas, a bill liberalizing ROTC requirements and exempting COs, was passed by one house of the state legislature and was waiting action in the other.

Novel Cost Scale Devised For Pacifist Summer Camp

The annual Fellowship Camp at Quaker Cove, Washington, July 26-August 4, will feature an unusual sliding-scale basis for figuring costs. Charges for the nine-day conclave are computed at the rate of $1.25 multiplied by the camper's age. People over 21 will be relieved to know, however, that a maximum has been set at $27, although they are invited to join in the computing and donate the surplus to a scholarship fund. Further information about the Camp may be obtained from John Affolter, 4004 13th Ave. South, Seattle 8, Wash.

American Forum Clashes With Eastland Committee

The efforts of FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste to launch an organized platform for discussions among members of the badly splintered American left received a discordant fanfare late in May. The formation of Muste's group, the American Forum for Socialist Education, had hardly been announced before Muste was sent a lengthy questionnaire by Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Chairman James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

Replying to Senator Eastland, Muste challenged the latter's right to investigate the American Forum and said that "inquisition into political . . . views and activities is evil, . . . unconstitutional, and profoundly un-American."

The American Forum, because of the inclusion of known members of the Communist Party, USA, on its national committee, has been accused in right-wing Socialist and other circles as a new type of Communist front. This charge has been vigorously denied by Muste, who has repeatedely pointed out that the purpose of the Forum is *not* to seek united action but to promote "study and serious, untrammeled political discussion" among the disparate elements of the left.

Among the members of the Forum's national committee are such noted anti-Communists as Kermit Eby and Sid Lens, ex-Communist Josephy Starobin, Communists Doxey Wilkerson and Albert Blumberg. Others included are *Catholic Worker* Editor Dorothy Day, *Liberation* Editor Dave Dellinger, *American Socialist* Editor Bert Cochran and *National Guardian* General Manager John T. McManus. Among FOR members on the committee are, besides Muste, Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary Charles C. Walker and FELLOWSHIP Contributor Milton Mayer. The Fellowship, however, has taken no official position with respect to the Forum.

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Hildegard Mayr in New Schattengasse Center

Austrian FOR leader Hildegard Mayr recently announced plans for an East-West conference of Roman Catholics to be held at Whitsuntide, June 9, in her recently established FOR center in the Schattengasse of downtown Vienna. She had conferred earlier with Roman Catholics in Poland and at last report was trying to arrange for passports to make the meeting possible. Miss Mayr is now living at the new center, which she obtained on March 1 with funds subscribed by the Robert Treat Paine Foundation, the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship and a number of interested individuals.

Miss Mayr is planning further steps in the direction of easing East-West tensions, including attendance at a youth conference to be held in Moscow next month.

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